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464 for a fortnight of intense activity. Shearing is their only means of making money to acquire necessary goods. They are paid according to the number of sheep they shear per day. Those who are skillful may earn as much as [465] two or three hundred pesos during the season; even young girls make as much as 12 pesos a day. Such salaries, when compared with those of the working classes in Chile, are bountiful. Shearing time is the greatest event of the year, and it has taken the place of the old native feasts. The work, with its competitive aspect and the gathering of the young people in an isolated part of the island, breaks the monotony of daily life.

465 The standard salary for a day's work, established by the Chilean government, is 4 pesos plus half a sheep and other minor rations. The company has taken great care to give the natives a chance to benefit from the exploitation of the island. Export of corn has recently become a possible source of profit, and the company has tried to encourage the natives to cultivate maize. At the present time only two or three natives have taken advantage of this new source of income.

435 The most coveted foreign goods are clothes, soap, and perfume. The
439 first things the natives ask for aboard a foreign ship are shirts and trousers.
463 Money is accepted, but a shirt is preferred to a sum of money four or five times as great as the value of the article. In order to obtain clothes, they resort to the making of curios, the most flourishing industry of the island. The men carve wooden images, canes, and swords; and the women plait hats, crowns, or feather strings. Most individuals are able to produce these articles, but some are unusually gifted and have specialized in their crafts. Those who want a stock of curios to trade during the visit of a ship may acquire from the experts articles to trade on their own account. As the ships that visit the island are generally warships or freighters, it is easier for the men to get clothes than for the women, and any textile which may be used by women has a high value on the island.

435 Soap comes after clothes in the scale of value. Natives are always willing
439 to work or to exchange curios for soap. Combs, mirrors, cheap rings, or earrings are begged for, but not so eagerly coveted.

276 The islanders rely mostly on the products of their land for food, but
439 imported products are always welcome changes in the monotony of their menus. Flour, rice, and sugar are either bought at the company store or received as part payment for their work. The tobacco which grows on the island is considered too strong by the natives, who prefer Chilean cigarettes. Smoking is a widespread habit, especially among women.

152 Numerous conflicts have arisen between the natives and the company.
648 Stealing has been one of the chief sources of trouble, but many other difficulties have come from the turbulent spirits of the natives and from their easily excited imaginations. Easter Islanders are apt to believe the most unfounded

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643 The *ariki-mau* was respected because of his mana, his influence over nature, and the magic connected with his person, but he was certainly not a ruler or civilian chief. As a direct descendant of the first king who settled on the island and thus of the gods, the *ariki-mau* had a status superior to that of other chiefs or heads of tribes, but he probably had little authority over them. Though the king did not interfere in the intertribal wars, he may occasionally have acted as mediator in quarrels. His lack of real power and exalted position is shown by the following historical incident which took place just before 1862:

> The Ngaure tribe defeated the Miru whom they took as slaves (*mata-kio*). The king, his son Kamakoi, and his grandson Maurata were held in captivity in the territory of the Ngaure and were not rescued until a few years later by the Miru who had in the meantime united with the Tupa-hotu.

In view of all available evidence, kingship on Easter Island may be defined as follows. The king was the man with the most aristocratic pedigree and the most exalted social position on the island. His person was overflowing with mana and his sacredness caused him to be feared and respected. His function in society was to insure through his very being the abundance of crops and the fertility of the ground and to exercise his influence on animal life. Certain religious activities were derived from his sacredness and he held supervisory control over various practices connected with religion.

Priests

793 554 [565] Very little information is available about the status of priests (*ivi-atua*) (family of the gods) except that, according to Roussel, their social rank was next to that of the *ariki*. They were feared and respected, and the attitude of the common people toward them was probably similar to that observed toward the king or other high chiefs. The fact that native traditions, referring to certain important ceremonies, insist that these were performed by *ariki-paka*, implies that some high priests belonged to the families of kings. Very few allusions to *ivi-atua* are made in legends, but by analogy with Mangareva and the rest of Polynesia, we may suppose that they had a great deal of influence and played an important part in the history of the island. Their power and prestige seem to have been annihilated before the missionaries came, since they made no opposition to the introduction of Christianity. Accounts by the missionaries do not allude to them.

Experts and Craftsmen

463 An expert in any profession is called *maori*. The chanters or reciters of genealogies were *maori*, as well as the carvers of the big images, and the wood cutters. The common Polynesian word *tahunga* seems to have been known formerly, but it is not in the modern language. *Tahonga* is a formative

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element in the names of several kings, and an old chant alludes to the *tahonga*.

He naunau no ta Puku-naunau.	There is a sandalwood tree in Puku-naunau.
He rongo-rongo no ta Orongo.	There is a chanter at Orongo.
He tahonga no ta Puku-tahonga.	There is an expert craftsman in Puku-tahonga.
He kiakia no ta Puku-kiakia.	There is a *kiakia* bird on Puku-kiakia.

Present-day islanders still remember that the stone carvers were organized into a sort of guild. They were a privileged class, highly esteemed, and their profession was transmitted from father to son. To Geiseler (87, p. 13) and Thomson (215, p. 498) were pointed out natives who claimed to be the descendants of the image makers. They referred to their ancestors with as much pride as to the royal family. One of Thomson's guides "never missed an opportunity of stating that one of his forefathers was Uuratahui, the distinguished image maker."

Tepano told me that expert stone carvers (*tangata maori anga moai maea*) received orders from people who wanted a monument for their ahu. They worked under the leadership of a master (*tangata honui maori*) and were paid in fish, lobsters, and eels.

Expert fishermen were called *vaka-tangata* (people of the boat). They went fishing at the request of people who wanted fish.

RONGORONGO MEN

The sacred lore of Easter Island was stored in the memories of experts, called *tangata rongorongo*. Routledge (194, p. 244) is the first to apply this term to a special category of learned people. Present-day natives always speak of the chanters and learned men of the past as *tangata rongorongo*.

Thomson (215, p. 514) states that the knowledge of chants and of the so-called script associated with them was possessed only by members of the royal family, the chiefs of the six districts, the sons of the chiefs, and certain priests and teachers. There is little doubt that many experts belonged to aristocratic families. King Nga-ara, who was trained by his father, was one of the most famous *rongorongo* men of the nineteenth century. Other traditions, however, imply that chanters were numerous, and if this impression is correct, we may assume that nobility was not an absolute prerequisite for the profession. Probably on Easter Island as on Mangareva it was fitting for the king to possess the science of a priest, though it was not obligatory.

Little is known of the social functions of the *rongorongo* men. We know only that they taught chants in special schools, met once a year at Anakena to read the tablets, and gathered at Orongo during the annual competition of the bird-men (p. 390) where they "chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that is all" (194, p. 260).

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463 533 171 The *tangata rongorongo* of Easter Island is analogous to the *tuhuna o'ono* of the Marquesas who served as "master chanter, tribal bard, or ceremonial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore" (104, p. 145). He also taught the sacred chants and led the chanting at family feasts. There were chanting contests between the *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes. The word *o'ono* is the equivalent of *rongo* since in the Marquesan dialect the *r* is dropped and the nasal velar (*ng*) becomes *n*.

On Mangareva there was a special class of chanters or "intellectuals" who were termed *rongorongo (taura rongorongo)*. They were responsible for the sacred chants for important festivals and recited genealogies and chants in praise of nobility at feasts organized by the king or by chiefs. They knew and transmitted to their pupils both sacred and profane lore—myths, legends, traditions, and historical narrative (28, p. 304).

Warriors

701 565 Thomson (215, p. 475) is mistaken when he assumes that "there was no class of professional fighters or soldiers; every able-bodied man was supposed to be a warrior and compelled to do duty in time of war." It is certainly true that most of the men of a tribe participated in a fight but the *matatoa* were nearly, if not exactly, professional warriors. As men of recognized courage and strength, they were expected to go to war and their presence in a battle was considered a guarantee of victory. Their prestige and the fear they inspired placed them in a special category above the average members of their tribes. They probably did no work. They might be compared [171] to the Marquesan war leaders, *matahoha* (courageous faces, 104, p. 126).

In the native texts two words are generally used to designate warriors—*matatoa* which applies to a man of military fame, and *paoa* which designates an ordinary soldier. *Paoa* also means "club" (the short club like the Maori *patupatu*). The expression *kai-tangata* or *paoa-kai-tangata* (cannibal-warriors) appears occasionally in legends in reference to fierce fighters. The use [171] of *kai-tangata* in this sense forms an exact parallel to the word *kaia* (famed warrior) of Mangareva.

Legends and missionary accounts fully agree that the *matatoa* were not only the leaders in war but were also the actual rulers of the tribes. Some of the *matatoa* seem to have procured for themselves privileges usually reserved for the *ariki*. On this point Roussel (190, p. 428) says: "The custom transmitted up to our time requires that the fishermen hand over the tuna fish he caught to the chief or, in his place, to the matatoa." Similar conditions existed on Mangaia where the temporal power passed from the *ariki* of the Nga-ariki tribe to victorious warriors (31, p. 122). On Easter Island there is no specific record that a *matatoa* ever ruled over the whole island, but cer-

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used "to send him to the chickens." Juan had had the offer of learning one form of such script, but, not unnaturally, had looked upon it with some contempt, preferring European accomplishments. The information which could be gathered was, therefore, with one exception, which will be noted later, simply that of the layman, or man in the street, who had been aware of the existence of the art and seen it going on around him, but had no personal knowledge.

The tablets were of all sizes up to 6 feet. It was a picturesque sight to see an old man pick up a piece of banana-stem, larger than himself, from among the grove in which we were talking, and stagger along with it to show what it meant to carry a tablet, though, as he explained, the sides of the tablet were flat, not round like the stem. It is said that the original symbols were brought to the island by the first-comers, and that they were on "paper," that when the paper was done, their ancestors made them from the banana plant, and when it was found that withered they resorted to wood. Every clan had professors in the art who were known as rongo-rongo men ("tangata-rongo-rongo"). They had houses apart, the sites of which are shown in various localities. Here they practised their calling, often sitting and working with their pupils in the shade of the bananas; their wives had separate establishments. In writing, the incision was made with a shark's tooth: the beginners worked on the outer sheaths of banana-stems, and later were promoted to use the wood known as "toro-miro."[1]

The glyphs are, as will be seen, so arranged that when the figures of one row are right way up, those of the one immediately below it are on their heads; thus only alternate rows can, at the same time, be seen in correct position (fig. 98). The method of reading was, according to Te Haha, to read one row from left to right, then come back reading the next from right to left, the method known as boustrophedon, from the manner in which an ox ploughs a furrow. The finished ones were wrapped in reeds and hung up in the houses. According to two independent authorities they could only be touched by the professors or their servants, and were taboo to the uninitiated, which, however, does not quite agree with other statements, nor with that of the missionaries that they were to be found in "every house." They

[1] Sophora Toromiro.

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were looked upon as prizes to be carried off in war, but they were often burnt with the houses in tribal conflict. 212

Ngaara is said to have had "hundreds of kohau" in his house, and instructed in the art, which he had learnt from his grandfather. He is described, with a vivid personal touch, as teaching the words, holding a tablet in one hand and swaying from side to side as he recited. Besides giving instruction, he inspected the candidates prepared by other professors, who were generally their own sons; he looked at their kohau and made them read, on which he either passed them, clapping if they did well, or turned them back. Their sponsors were made personally responsible. If the pupils acquitted themselves creditably, presents of kohau were made to the teachers; if the youth failed, the tablets of the instructor were taken away.

Every year there was a great gathering of rongo-rongo men at Anakena, according to Te Haha, as many as several hundreds of them came together. The younger and more energetic of the population assembled from all districts in the island to look on. They brought "heu-heu" (feathers on the top of sticks), tied pua on to them, and stuck the sticks in the ground all round the place. The inhabitants of the neighbouring districts brought offerings of food to Ngaara, that he should be able to supply the multitude, and the oven was "five yards along." The gathering was near the principal ahu, midway between the sandy shore and the background of hills. The Ariki and his son Kaimokoi sat on seats made of tablets, and each had a tablet in his hand; they wore feather hats, as did all the professors. The rongo-rongo men were arranged in rows, with an alley-way down the centre to the Ariki. Some of them had brought with them one tablet only; others as many as four. The old ones read in turn, or sometimes two together, from the places where they stood, but their tablets were not inspected. Te Haha and his comrades stood on the outskirts, and he and one other lad held maru in their hands. If a young man failed, he was called up and his errors pointed out; but if an old man did not read well, Ngaara would beckon to Te Haha, who would go up to the man and take him out by the ear. Our informant repeated this part of the story identically months later, and added that the Ariki would say to the culprit, "Are you not ashamed to be taken out by a child?"; the offender's hat was taken away, but the tablet was not inspected. 212. 463 [689]

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The entire morning was spent in hearing one half of the men read; there was an interval at midday for a meal, after which the remainder recited, the whole performance lasting till evening. Fights occasionally ensued from people scoffing at those who failed. Ngaara would then call Te Haha's attention to it, and the boy would go up to the offenders with the maru in his hand and look at them, when they would stop and there would be no more noise. When the function was over, the Ariki stood on a platform borne by eight men and addressed the rongo-rongo men on their duties, and doing well, and gave them each a chicken. Another old man, Jotefa, gave a different account of the great assembly, by which the Ariki sat on his stoep and the old men stood before him and "prayed"; according to this version they either did not bring their tablets or their doing so was voluntary. In addition to the great day, there were minor assemblies at new moon, or the last quarter of the moon, when the rongo-rongo men came to Anakena. The Ariki walked up and down reading the tablets, while the old men stood in a body and looked on.

Ngaara used also to travel round the island, staying for a week or two in different localities with the resident experts. Another savant on the south coast was said to be "too big a man to have a school," and also went about visiting and inspecting learned establishments in the same manner.

Ngaara, before the end, fell on evil days. The Ngaure clan was in the ascendancy, and carried off the Miru as slaves; the Ariki was taken to Akahanga on the south coast with his son, Kaimokoi, and grandson, Maurata. They were there five years in captivity, and the "Miru cried much"; at the end of that time the clan united with the Tupahotu and rescued the old man. He was then ill, and died not long afterwards at Tahai, on the west coast, near Hanga Roa, while living with his daughter, who had married a Marama. For six days after his death everyone worked at making the sticks with feathers on the top (heu-heu), and they were put all round the place. He was buried in the ruined image ahu at Tahai, his body being carried on three of the tablets, and followed through a lane of spectators by the rongo-rongo men; the tablets were buried with him. His head paid the penalty of its greatness, and was subsequently stolen; its whereabouts was unknown. Ten or fifteen of his tablets were given to old men; the rest went to a servant, Pito, and

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on his death to Maurata. When Maurata went to Peru, Také, a relative of Te Haha, obtained them, and Salmon asked Te Haha to get hold of them for him. Také, however, unfortunately owed Te Haha a grudge, because when Te Haha was in Salmon's service, and consequently well off, he did not give him as many presents as his relative thought should have been forthcoming, and he consequently refused to surrender them. They were hidden in a cave whose general locality was surmised, but Také died without making known the exact site, and they could never be found. Kaimokoi's tablets were burnt in war.

The question remains what were the subjects with which the tablets dealt, and in what manner did they record them? Various attempts have been made to deal with a problem which will probably never be wholly solved. Twice before our own day native assistance has been sought to decipher them. It will be remembered that the existence of these glyphs was first reported by the missionaries; but even at that time, when volunteers were asked for who could translate them, none came forward, Bishop Jaussen, Vicaire Apostolique of Tahiti, managed to find in that island a native of Easter among those brought there to work on the Brander plantations, who was supposed to understand them, and who read them after the boustrophedon method. From the information given by him, the Bishop was satisfied that the signs represented different things, such as sun, stars, the ariki, and so forth, and has given a list of the figures and their equivalent. At the same time he held that each one was only a peg on which to hang much longer matter which was committed to memory. The other attempt to obtain a translation was that of Paymaster Thomson, of U.S.S. *Mohican*, in 1886. There was then living an old man, Ure-vae-iko by name, who was said to be the last to understand the form of writing; he declined to assist in deciphering them on the ground that his religious teachers had said it would imperil his soul. Photographs, however, were shown, and, by the aid of stimulants, he was induced to give a version of their meaning, the words of which were taken down by Salmon. It was, however, remarked that when the photographs were changed, the words proceeded just the same.

Inquiries were made by the Expedition about this old man, and it was agreed by the islanders that he had never possessed